

(1) 2
A
DISCOURSE
FOR A
KING
AND
Parliament:

In four Sections.

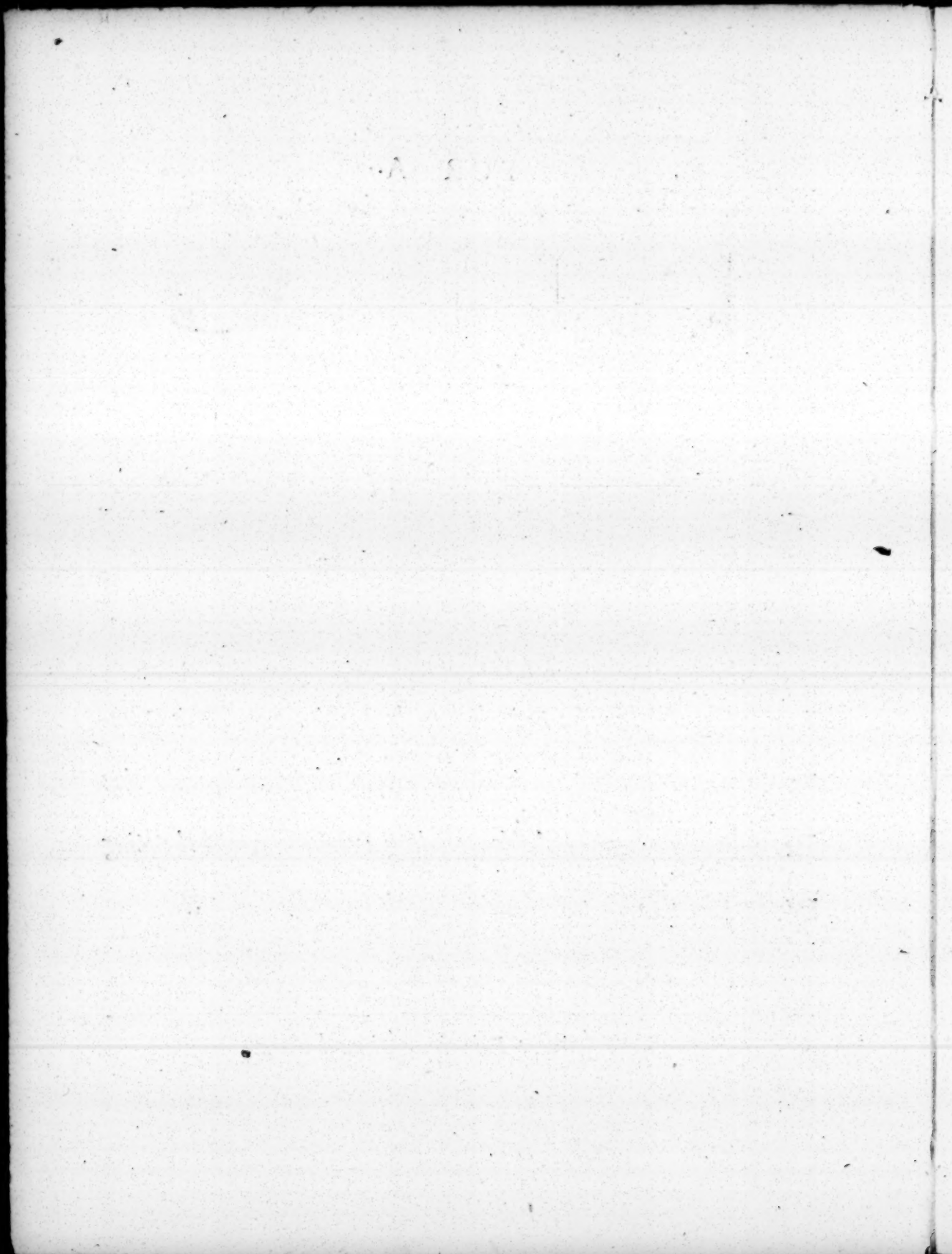
Demonstrating

- I. *The inconsistency of a Free-state with the situation of this Country, and constitution of the people.*
 - II. *Mischiefs incident to the continuance of their endeavours that act in order thereunto.*
 - III. *The advantages probably attending a composure with the King of Scots.*
 - IV. *Resolves to the Grand Objections that seeme to obstruct it.*
-

By a moderate and serious Pen.

Bono servire Principi optima libertas.

London, Printed for G. Bedell and T. Collins, and are to be sold at their shop at the middle-Temple-gate in Fleetstreet. 1660.





To Sir *A. H.* and those spirits that
pretend to *Liberty* in *Democracy*,

Gentlemen,



Design Liberty; not the *name*, but
the *thing*; I assert not that which
some Divines call *Monarchy*, but
Kingship, as it relates to the *Law*
of *England*, not that of the *Jews*;
not in order to the Greatness of a *single per-*
son, but to the happiness of the *whole peo-*
ple; That Regal Politick Government, to
whose protection I am entitled by my *birth*,
for the preservation of my freedom in *per-*
son and *estate*, and that, with *more* assurance
than possibly can be secur'd under the go-
vernment of the *many* who often call that
justice, and without remedy, which in truth is
Faction.

Next, I abhorre *bloodshed*, and deeme one
party in all *warres* guilty of *murder*; a crime

The Epistle Dedicatory.

° which as it cries high for *vengeance*, so it cries loud for *peace*, which he only endeavours that that acts *no injury*; I recommend this to balance you in the *way to Peace*, lest you *ballot* us into the field of *blood*; perhaps your *own* as well as *ours*; for though you *Vote* at *ease* upon the hazard of our *bodies*, yet possibly in time, the *evil* may happen upon the *Artist*. If but *one of you* I convert, I have a full reward; for perhaps I may save a *soule*; however as the text speaks, *I shall hide a multitude of sins*.

Yours in the way of

Truth and Peace,

W. C.



THE Introduction.



*U*R affairs labouring under variety of factions, nothing seems more rational to effect a due Composure, than the advice of the whole People; for that which binds all, ought by all to be debated.

Now, though the Parliament upon Convention is not so regular as may admit of no exception, yet since the whole people are not capable to be personally in Counsel, and that with respect to our fundamentals this way of Election has the repute to be the Representative of the Commons, and that with respect to the present, it is not possible to have an Assembly nearer the foundation, and more passable to give forth the sence of the people; Therefore as it were an high insolence in any few to impose a Government upon the whole; so will it argue a strange inquietude of spirit, if single persons shall not acquiesce in the free major Vote of their judgements that shall be so assembled; for though in truth the major Vote may be the worse, yet becomes it not a single person so to judge; for thereof the consequence will be, that every mans single judgement shall be the rule of his obedience, which needs must engage us as to confusion upon the variety of judgements that will happen, so to war for the last decision of the matters controverted, persons of such opinions being not capable to be over-rul'd by any other judicature.

Though

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

Though therefore it becomes sober men to acquiesce in their determinations, yet may it become all men that are concerned in the Result, to contribute their assistance in the way ; That things being at full discust, and laid open according to truth, thereof they might be enabled to give a more sound judgment. Upon this account, have I presum'd to the publick, without the least reflection upon past miscarriages, to enquire considering the present state of our affairs, What settlement may best conduce to our happinesse in the future ; wherein I know not how I can design to my self any other interest than Peace, for though I have hapned to displease one party, yet I never actually oblig'd the other, and do secure my self no lasting comfort upon earth but in the Union of Both.

Now after a sad revolve I find my self confined in this sence. That,

SECT. I.

That which we call a Free-state, is inconsistent with the scituation of this Countrey, and constitution of the people.

I Design only to inforce, *plain, sensible and modern arguments,* as a word in *season*, applicable to the *present*, and leave the *notional* to our book-men ; whose volumes calculated for all climates swell big against the Evils of the Rule of *Many* or *Democracy*.

Mine shall be appropriate to this Island, which indeed is a large Continent, abundantly populous, and govern'd by the influence of a sort of people that live *plentifully* and at *ease* upon their rents, extracted from the toyl of their Tenants and servants ; In Law-phraze they are instil'd the *minor Nobility*, in English *Gentry*, each of whom within the bounds of his own estate acts the *Prince* ; he is purely absolute ; his servants and labourers are in the nature of his *Vassals* ; his Tenants indeed are free, but in the
nature

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

3

nature of *Subjects*, whom he orders in his Courts, draws supplies from by his Fines, and awes by his power and *Oaths* of fealty to infinite submission. The more his Mannors are, and the more indulgent he behaves himself, like a good Prince, the larger is his Territory, and the more awful his commands. A Neighbour more rich and potent, gives check to his inferiour Neighbour, and brings his petty Prince-ship into awe; and perhaps he again is awed by a greater and more powerful in estate or friends. But none of these with respect to his quality and estate will admit a parity with his inferiour Neighbours, much less his Tenant or Dependant.

Into this Ranck do our Commanders, Citizens, and Burghers aspire to be inroll'd; so that no sooner by Arms, Office, or Trade, do they acquire a competent stock, but forthwith for Land it is disposed; and then disowning the Title of Souldiers, Citizens, or Burghers, they take to themselves the degree and name of Gentlemen, with Armes not improper; for *England* within it self has been so often shuffled from *high* to *low*, that scarce any Artificer but may find his name in the *Heralds* book, though not his Pedegree, which *ingenuity* and *goodwill* may easily supply: And thus being æquipt with a *Title* and *Estate*, they set up sutablely the dominion within their Territories, which none can dispute, because they have no right to intermeddle with what whosoever has or does within himself: For by Gentry, I intend not only such as are so in *blood*, but so in *quality*; such as live easfully, and like Princes upon the labours of the dependants.

Now that this sort of people have by influence and in effect the *Command* of this Nation, at this instant appears evident, in this, That they sit at the Helm in the *Supreme Council*; they command in *chief* at Sea and Land; they impose *Taxes*, and levy it by Commissioners of the same quality: Out of this ranck select we Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and all that execute the authority of a *Judge*; By the influence of which powers, they so order all elections to Parliament or otherwise, that the whole Counties follow their respective factions, and the Commonalty in the Votes are manag'd by them, as the horse by his Rider.

So that as the *Agrarian* or interest of land is principally in this

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

this rank, so is the consequence thereof, *Dominion* and *Command*, which imboldens them to such a height of spirit, *natural to our Gentry*, as they are too apt to undervalue persons of inferiour quality, *Burgesses*, and *Mechanicks*, with whom to inter-marry by our old Law, it was a *disparagement* for a *Ward*; and this spirit of generosity cannot be supprest, 'tis so rivied in their *nature*, but by the eradication of their *persons*, or at least, their *qualities*; to which barbarous effect, I have known some *Grandeers* have pleased to vent a sence.

For indeed the establishing of a *Free-state* is otherwise desperate; and therefore it was the course that the prevailing *Mechanicks* amongst the *Swisses*, were inforc't to take: How else shall we be level'd to a *parity*, which is of the very essence of a *Free-state*? For as *Titles* and *Honour* are incident to a *Kingship*; so equality in place, degree, and birth, are to *Democracy*; unless wherein case of *Office*, for the time only they are intitled to precedency. Reduc'd must the *Gentry* be to the Condition of the *Vulgar*; *Commons* already are they in *Title*, which is but a fallacy of the name, and deludes our *Statists*; for indeed they are so only *Representatively*, being rather the *Tribunes* and leaders of the peoples strength, and the governors of their purse, than purely *Commons*. Nor will it suffice to obtain this *parity*, unless with it also we establish our *Suprem: Power* in a body corporate, compacted, and permanent; such as is that of *London*, where possibly the *Grandeur* of that City, had it spirit and design, might erect it self into a *Free-state*, and might by that great Magazin of treasure and men there *imbodyed*, give Law to the whole people scattered as they are in a large continent. Having first reduced some meet Cities, *Forts*, and *Castles*, which being Garisoned from the *Head Colony*, will awe the *Countrys*, and order them into a vassalage competent to make up a *Free-state*: But we of the *Gentry*, shall neither have the honour of the *name*, nor benefit of the *thing*. 'Twill be insil'd the *Common-wealth* of *London*, not of *England*; and our pay must be as they impose, and our liberty as they vouchsafe it; only in this it will be the less agreeable, that we are subject to our *Inferiours*. This Discourse, though it seems *Drollery*, yet has not bin without its jealousy among the wise, when in time that great City shall be compelled by our confusions

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

sons to know its own strength, and by that its interest, when necessity to preserve it self, will imbolden them to lay hands on others, and so inforce *Ord.r* upon them that can give none unto themselves.

From this *Embrio* have issued those Common-wealths which are so fam'd in notions; as those of *Rome, Carthage, Athens, Lacedemon, Corinth, Thebes, &c.* Great Cities of that name, which have subdued their adjacent Territories, and denominated the dominion, wherein only those of the freedome, *Citizens* and *Denizens* had vote or power; The Gentlemen, as we of the Countyes, being purely tributary to the Grand City; unless we transplant our selves, renounce our Titles, and so by degrees advance into the honour of a *Burgeß*, as we now do exercise our *junior* issue. And such are at this day the fam'd Common-wealths of *Venice, the United Provinces, the Swisses*, not to instance in those petty States of *Genoa, Rugasa, Geneva, &c.* All Common-wealths, most denominated from those principal Cities which give the Law to the adjacent Provinces. Those indeed of the *Hollanders* and *Swisses*, though they derive not so directly their Title from one City, yet are they in substance of the same composure, being only an united Body of *corporated* Cities, combin'd in one for mutual defence against invaders; but of an equal power to impose upon the adjacent Territories, situate under the awe of each respective City, or Town-Garrison.

It falls not within my memory that there ever was, or at this day is a *Free-State* in the world, that's managed by the *Gentry* inhabiting at large, or by any people not combin'd within the Jurisdiction of their *Walls*, except the *Grisons*, who are a scattered people, of a mean quality, having long since disown'd their *Gentry*, without walled Town or Garrison; 'Tis a small Territory, possibly of extent to an inland County; Upon Emergencies, the whole people at a set day meet in the open ayre, where the *major vote*, as we Knights of the shire, cries up the *Magistrates*, and determines War. Their confusion makes them easie for conquest, were their Country worth it, and not secured by the *united Cantons*.

Now to apply the premises; Can we suppose the *Gentry* that are now in power, will admit a *parity*, will level their degree

B and

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

and dominion to a proportion with their *Copy-holder*? Nay, will renounce the *wearing* of a *Sword*, and learn to *make one*? will submit to become tributary to the Neighbour Colony? Then possibly may we aspire from the state of *Kingship* to a free-state in *Clownship*; or at best from the free-giving of *subsidies* to the *Majesty* of a *Scepter*, to the forc'd-payment of *excise* to the *High-mighty Burgher*; Such as was that High and mighty *Butcher*, who of late was Commissionated by the *Swisses* as one of the *Chiefsto* be *Godfather* to the *French Kings son*.

But 'twill be said, as *Plato* fancied his Community, and *Sir Thomas Moor* his *Utopia*, so may we a *Rotation*, thereby to gather up a new Model of a Common-wealth out of the scattered *Gentry* in the nature of a *House of Commons*. Truly my friends, if you will try new experiments, I wish you had other subjects to practice upon, than the *Estates*, and *Lives*, nay, the very *Souls* of *Christians*: We have run the *loss* of those, and the *hazard* of these too long upon the hopes of a *Chimera* in the braines of some. The word *Liberty* has deluded us into patience, and patience since 48. has brought forth not less payments, but more servitude.

We are obstructed, you'll say, so that we are not permitted to foster up our *Babe* to full perfection: And still are you like to be; for the wise foresee the *Evil* of such a State, and contrive with as much design to prevent it, as the unadvised to bring it on: Yet from 48. to 53. you had it from the *Nurse*, and might in five years have set it upon its *Feet*, but that you found the *sweet* of ingrossing *Power* to your selves: No indeed, could it stand without you, which might be evident from the high *disgust* and the great *scorne* you were reproach't with, when it was dissolv'd; Not one *bloody nose* in the defence of that *High and Mighty State*; Nor scarce a good thought since of any of the persons: For your late *twice* advancement, I suppose, e're this you are sensible, that it was only to serve a *turn*, as a thing fit to be made a *property*: Do'nt you believe that it was desire of your Rule, but of a *farther* change, that inspirited the people against the *Army*, when you possibly as *next at hand*, mounted the empty Saddle, but you were not warm in the *seat*, before with a publick leave you were *unhors'd*, witness the *Bonfires* that might have lighted you to the *Lands end*, if you had dared to come among them.

Now

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

7

Now, though I disown those *irregular* transactions, yet they strongly *tye* me in this sence, that as this Government was originally founded in a *single* person, so the *Genius* of the people still adheres to the same foundation. Examine we the various revolutions that have hapned, *Brians, Romans, Saxons, Danes*, and *Normans*; or more neerly the changes in their descendents from the *direct* line to the *Collateral*; or neerer, the times of insurrection, *deposing* Kings, *Edward* and *Richard* both the seconds of the Name, and we shall find *Kingship* still in fashion: Nay, that of King *John* is more notorious; for when the people had in a sort dethroned that King, and sworne allegiance to *Lewis* of *France*, yet when *John* dyed, the people not only expell'd the forraigner, but having power in their own hands, they Crowned his *Sonne* an infant, without power or adherents: And not one syllable in *all our* Chronicles, of a design or endeavour to erect a Free-state; No not when *Wat Tiler*, or *Jack Straw* revell'd it with their Clownes. Is our *Genius* changed? you will find it, *No*. Did you not observe it in the last *Protector*, who in a single person bearing up but the *shadow* of *Kingship*, was so seconded by a full Representative, that had he not bin betrayed by his own pusillanimity, and the power of a corrupted Army, he had bin sufficiently secured against the *State Zelots*.

'Tis not the sence or interest of a *few*, that can long sway a Nation. If the *publick spirit* be averse, at the long runne it will prevaile. The more dispute there is with that spirit, the more imbitter'd it will be found; for whatever we dream, even when the *multitude* have the power, the command is in a *Few*. The active spirits lead the *herd*, and ingross the place, the profit, and the sway: This in a generous mind begets *disdain*, and that *faction*; for when all are equal, thousands think themselves as deserving Rule, as those that carry it. To satisfy *all*, it is impossible; to please *few*, displeases the most. Our transactions since 48, have made this as sensible, as we have made our selves *despicable*. To conclude, The *English Gentry* have *Spirits pure*, naturally *just*, and *Generous*; like fire aspiring as a *Pyramide*, from low to high, and it will never rest, till it contracts it self unto a *Unity* at top: So God is *One*, or he were not God, nor could he rule the world. He that likes not

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

that *president*, but delights in the Rule of *many*, let him begin a *President in his family*, and he may there possibly have *enough* to do.

SECT. II.

Mischiefs incident to our endeavours for a Free-State.

THough we cannot fix a settlement of a State, yet possibly by Artifice and Contrivance some may continue a *Rotation* in disorder: As Boys at *Foot-ball*, now one, then another tripping up the heels, and carrying away the Ball: Some perhaps that out-run their fellows, may hit the *mark*, and suck the *sweet*, till being full-gorg'd, they grow *Lazy*; and some empty ones that are more active, mount their Roomes. In the meantime, we their tributaries are attacht with these mischiefs.

1. We shall constantly live under the affrights of an *invasion* from abroad; for while any of that Royal Line survive, we may well judge that they contrive a *Restoration*: And our Statesmen have bin so kind to Him, as not to give his Home-party a *full oblivion*; but against true policy and president, do continue them *disabled*, and so indiscontent. Hence is it, that we must be alwayes jealous not assured of our *next Neighbour*, till an equal sufferance begets an equal sence.

2. While we groan under this fear, 'tis of necessity that we continue a considerable *Force* at *Land* and *Sea*; which lying idle, will corrupt as standing water in a Pool, and endanger a *new combustion*, as they are blown up by their present *Master*: However like our old *Lord-Danes*, they will be burthensome to the Country by their *Quartering*, and consequently odious: Or otherwise to keep the Souldiery in action, we must either affright them, upon the discovery of a *new-fain'd-plot*, or engage them in a *forraign War*; To this are the united Provinces inforc't, to prevent Kingship in the Prince of *Orange*; though their scituation secures their *Burgher ships* much stronglier than
can

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

9

can outs; for their Dominion consists chiefly in *strong Garisons*, *Fortified Townes*, and those in a small circuit; should one or more of them be surprized by a *buſie* Army, the rest will take the *Alarm*, and prevent their progress by the force of *Walls* and *Bulwarks*, not to be mastered but by *Seiges* tedious, and more *expensive*, than ten such Princes can advance: But in *England* an open continent, he that Commands the field, Rules the purse; for *London* is too rich to have courage, and will more readily submit to the *will* of the Commander, than to the *modesty* of his Army.

3. While we have such fears, and such an Army, we must continue *contribution*, besides those great *Cuſtomes* and *Excise*, which impoverish us, though not so sensibly, yet more bitterly than the *Tax*; for the commodity being charged, the price is raised, and the buyer even almost in every thing that he eats, drinks, or wears, payes the *account*. I remember when Mr. *Pym* that grand Patriot, upon necessity but mentioning the word *Excise* in the House of Commons, was by a young spirit, and not without applause, called to the *Barre*. What then we esteemed *Poyſon*, we take now as *Phyſick*; but in that Age it seem'd impossible that a *free-born* English-man could have swallowed it. 'Twas begot in the *Low-Countries* with their State which makes them *Free*; that is, in *Purse*, not in *Priviledge*: for no *English King* dar'd ever demand, what they are inforc'd to pay. Now consider we what benevolences, *Sequeſtrations*, five and twentieth parts, a *Tax* of fifty subsidies at once, *Fines* and *Compositions*, *Sales* of Kings, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and *Delinquents Lands*, the two parts of *Papists*, nay a share of our *very charities* to the distressed, besides constant contributions that have been levied: How has it all been devoured by the *Armies*, whose belly indeed has no bottome! yet what *Arrears* to them do we owe? what a Debt have we contracted? 'tis judg'd not less than *Three Millions*! Lessen the Army we dare not; then must we *supply* it in proportion, or permit *free-quarter* which is worse; for the Souldier must *live*, and he cannot by the *aire*. Whence shall we acquire this vast Sum? not less certainly can our constant charge be, than *two millions* by the year, besides the interest of the great debt which swells dayly; we have the *ill luck* that none will *Rebel*, that
we

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

we may have Lands to *Sequester*, none to sell; Customs sink, and so will the Excise. All for the future (if the Army continue) must be extorted by contribution from the starveling Countries. But I doubt, as there is little *Will* to it, so there is less *ability*; Their patience has bin exercised to the height; Take heed; *Nescit plebs jejuna timere*, as ambition has no bounds, so necessity has no *Barre*.

4. *Pay*; How is it possible they should, if *Trade* fails; Our subsistence in the Country, hangs sensibly on commerce in the City. Observe it in one commodity; How can the Gentleman expect his *Rent*, when his Tenant cannot sell his *Wool*? If wool be not sold, how can the *poor* (millions of poor) be set on work? If the poor be not set on work, they must *steal*, or *starve*; If the *Clothyer* can vent no Cloth, how can he buy the Wool? If the *Merchant* have not a free and well-ordered *Trade*, how can he buy cloth? The miscarriages of these times has spoyled the Trade of our Cloth beyond the seas; so that unless we return into order, and awe our Neighbours to a futable correspondence, 'tis not recoverable. For other trades how they sink, may be evident from the dayly *raptures* that are spoken of; and more fully from the 2000. sail that we have lost since the *Spanish War*. Now, the commodities we have thence we take in upon *retaille* from our Officious *Neighbour*, who knows handsomly to foment the difference, and reap the advantage. Our gold walks beyond Sea more freely than in *England*. Forraign Trade we pay for *dear*; Home-commodities we sell *cheap*. 'Tis not possible but the wealth of *England* sinks in value considerably every year: No Trade can be, till there be a settlement; No settlement, while we dance every day to a new *Whistle*. There are ten models in proposal, and every *faction* is with blood ready to avow his *way* the best. While we thus stagger, we may shortly expect to be accosted with the same *dilemma*, that a poor labourer put upon my Tenant the other day, from whose *fold*, week after week he had stoln a *sheep*; he freely confest the Theft, and told him, work he had *none*, nor could get *any*, though he offered to labour at less value than he was *wont*; worth he was no more than his *earthen pot*; steal he must; hang him he might, but he his wife and five children would not *starve*, while they had hands to take.

5. Were

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

11

5. Were it possible to keep down the *spirit* of the English, which has been so imbitter'd by the violent instruments of our *Statists*, what shall we think of *Ireland*, who already Act in a sence altogether aversè to our new model? Nay, what of *Scotland*, a free people, no way in Vassalage to us, unless upon the account of our *late Conquest*: Can we think those two Kingdomes will *truckle* under this? Certainly, they wait but opportunity, and when it comes, 'twil cost us *dear*: Their interest undoubtedly is *Kingship*, whereby they may possibly hope to have an influence upon the *sweets* of our Court. While thus we are imbroyl'd with fears and Wars to subdue our tributaries, our purses and blood must be at the *expense*, and our enemies abroad will work their interests.

6. Was not the maintenance of our *fundamental* Laws, the pretence of our *quarrel*? Found we not the spirit of the Nation rowz'd up upon the sound of the *Trumpet*? *Popery*, was it not decry'd? and Religion, *Protestant* Religion adjudg'd to be in danger? were we not call'd up to the Battel upon the account of Zeale with a *Curse ye Meroz*? Now if we truck on in the search for a *Free-state*; as for Religion, so much of it as we may call *Protestant*, must of necessity turn to *Wantonneß*; for our divisions are so great already, that we dare not exasperate by advancing *Discipline*. Nay, indeed *we cannot* if we dar'd; for the most *active* of our Statists (if they have any Religion) 'tis that of the Sectary, which they own as the maine supporter of their *Model*, whose interest it is, to give *Licentiousnesse* to all. As for *Laws*, those which we adored for the excellency and antiquity, must of necessity be alter'd in our Freedomes of *person* and *estate*, wherein true liberty is principally concern'd: Thus, if we have a free-state in the way of a House of Commons *alwayes*, or a Council in the interval; that Sovereign Court will take power to impose *Taxes*, and to imprison *persons*: Now by the Law of *England* no free-man could be *taxed* or *imprest*, but by *Act of Parliament* solemnly and regularly pass'd by the *three estates*, and he intrusted the elected to consent only so far as by *Common Council* of the *three estates* should be agreed: In passing whereof, the Commons were as the Tribunes of the people, as their *Bulmark* against *high payments* and *impressures* demanded by the Prince; To
whose

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

whose occasions they would not contribute, unless well satisfied of the necessity and disbursement; which granted, they had the same concernment therein with the *whole* people, that is, To pay, and to be *imprest*. Now when the Commons are grown *Sovereign*, who shall we call upon to be our *Tribunes*? for the same persons that have the *power* to raise, have in effect the *privilege* to disburse. And how little will they value those *small* shares which they pay in their Rents, when they shall assuredly receive *large* salaries by their employments? For believe it, though every Statesman has not *preferment*, yet the most considerable will be in *pay*, and those are leaders to the rest. Upon this account it is, that while a Parliament sits, we shall be in *constant pay*; for the leaders will strain for a design, rather than want a *preferment*; And we the people may perhaps complain of the Reiterated burthen; but to whom shall we *appeal*? As for our persons, by our known Lawes, we could not be imprison'd, but by a *regular* proceeding in a course of justice, or a *full Act* of Parliament. An *arrest* there ought to be, and thereupon a *Bayl*, unless the cause appear'd not baylable by the Warrant; when the accused had freedom to make *defence* upon perusal of his charge; if injustice or malice appear'd in that prosecution, his reparation was ready and usual. Otherwise than thus, could not a House of Commons originally proceed, unless possibly upon their *own members*, which is disputable; but an impeachment must be drawn, and a trial had before the *Lords* as a Court of Justice. Should the King, or the Council *commit* an English man, it was upbraided as an *Act* of Tyranny. What becomes of this eminent freedom under a *free-state*, when upon slight suggestions of a *spightful* Neighbor that is in power, the *Serjeant* at Armes seizes us with his exorbitant *fees*! No bayl, no *Habeas Corpus*, no regular way of justice to do us right. And there possibly, after a twelvemonth, if we have good friends, and can humble our selves to our potent Adversary, may we get discharg'd, but without *amends* or knowing of our *Crime*: And this course must be continued upon *Reason of State*. Lo thus while we cajol our selves with the name of Freedom, we lose the thing, and become *free* only to be made *slaves*.

SECT. III.

*The happinesse of a compojure with the right Heir
of the Crown.*

INstance I might more, but these being plainly and sensibly mischievous, may suffice. Enquire we now into the way of cure; And things certainly are reduc'd to that ill temper, that tis far more easie to demonstrate what *may be evil*, than what *will be good*; but comparing times with things, I doubt not to evidence but that a closure with the way of Kingship is much rather to be embrac'd as that which *may be good*, than that confusion, which certainly *will be evil*; And dream we not of closing the difference by erecting a single person of a *new line*; for that will *lessen* the party, in that it makes the quarrel *personal*, and will the more disgust the spirits of this generous people, in that they are subjected to their *Equal*, who to retain his usurpation, will be enforc'd to accumulate those violences whereof we had sad experience under the *old Protector*; otherwise he shall soon be made the object of our *contempt*, as was his son with his easie and gentle way of acting; Nor will the afore-recited mischiefs be at all prevented; for our *fears* will be the same, and consequently our *charge*. It rests only that we close with the right Heir of the Crown upon termes conducible to assurance; And yet not such as may so much abridge the just rights of the Crown as to *advance* a licentiousness in the people; for with sober men, who weigh the reason of things, a *Negative* in the Prince, is a most *secure* preservative of Peace to the people; and the people have as much *comfort* under the Protection of his just Prerogative, as they have *benefit* by their own priviledges; Nor will *unreasonable* terms that are imposed be farther continued than they are inforc'd; only therefore securing against *revenge*, let the old Laws be the *standard* between both, and those duly executed, will sufficiently, and without entrenchment secure both; From such a closure probably will result these advantages.

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

1. *Peace* ensues, and thence *Plenty*; No jealousy of a pre-
tender to invade us from abroad; *Ireland*, yea and *Scotland*
will acquiesce by way of subordination to the Crown; the Roy-
al party must submit to the termes agreed; For if the *Head* be
satisfied, the *body* hath neither power nor title to dispute it far-
ther.

2. Parties reconcil'd, what necessity is there of a Land-Army?
the *Militias* without charge in every County being secur'd in
hands of *confidence*, so that such of the souldiery who make *war*
their *trad*, may have leasure to be employed *at Sea*, where need-
ful it will be that we continue a considerable Fleet, as the *Walls*
of *England*; and to preserve that Sovereignty at Sea which is our
ancient right; the rest being paid their *arrears*, may chearfully
retire to their wives and friends.

3. This horrid *Tax*, yea and the *Excise* may shortly cease;
for I shall anon evidence that a Revenew may be advanc'd with-
out either of these, fully competent to support the *Court-expence*,
and the necessities of the Publick; only at present it will be
needful that we impose one great *Tax*, suppose we a twelve-
months contribution to be paid at once, therewith to pay the
arrears of the *Army*, and disband them *honourably*; These ar-
rears must at last be paid, if we intend justice to those that are in
power to command it; nor can there be any way but this closure
to get *th:m paid*; otherwise, as their pay grows, so will their ar-
rears, and increase dayly; better were it that at once we take a
strong purge, than live contributing till we consume beyond the
cure of physick.

4. A Peace with *forraign Princes* is a certain consequent of
this closure, having a Prince so related in *blood*, nay of the *high-
est extraction* in the Christian world, and he grown formidable in
the conjunction of all interests; for he rules a people that have
been *disciplin'd* in war, which on both sides have given such
evidence of a *courage*, that will be the terror of the world, were
we drawn off from worrying our own bowels; were we all uni-
ted in *love*, as in *subjection*; which possibly by time and a dis-
creet *receding* on each side may be accomplish'd; as then we
shall be awful, so shall we be courted to alliances, which may be
accepted, as may conduce to the interest of the *Gospel*: From
hence flows *Trade*, and thence wealth to an Island; that Com-
merce

merce which we hold now by *retaille*, and run with high hazards, may enrich us at the first hand, and without danger; nay, possibly we may turn the *ballance*, and our greedy neighbour may take his turn in the *lighter* scale.

5. We may attain to a condition wherein we may *dare* to own *Religion*, sutable to those of the *Reformed* party beyond the Seas; and thereby beget a confidence in them of our *reality* and *adherence* to the interest of the true Protestant Cause, when upon account of the Grandure of our State, and our opportune scituation we may become the *head* of that Party to enlarge the Territories of the Gospel, and awe in a Toleration in our ways of worship, where they are most exploded; Let the Gospel have free passage, and it will make *its own way*; for I disown the promotion of it by the *Sword*, as totally unchristian, and bequeath it to the Turk.

6. This closure will in some sort clear the *integrity* of such as first engaged in the war; what was in pretence, but the defence of *Liberty* and *Religion*, which was afterwards model'd into words by a *Solemn League and Covenant*, which if any, was the *Good Old Cause*, wherein the Covenanters swore to persist, and not to suffer themselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, perswasion or terror, to be divided or withdrawn, whether to make defection to the contrary party, or to give themselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in the Cause which was then judged so much to concern the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King, but that all the dayes of their lives zealously and constantly they would continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to their power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; which Covenant they then declared to make in the presence of *Almighty God*, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intent to perform the same, as they should answer it at the great day when the secrets of all hearts should be disclosed; which Covenant though possibly at first upon account of taking it without the Kings consent, might not satisfie some, as to the manner of imposing, yet since the matter of it may in substance be approved, and that the now King of Scots has there freely engaged therein, and may possibly consent to an Act to that effect; will it not seem high perjury, and that we have juggled with the

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

world and our own souls, if we acquiesce not in the enjoyment thereof, which indeed comprehends all that reasonable men can design; how shall we answer it to the great God, in whose presence it was so solemnly entred with hands advanc'd? How scandalous is it to the Protestant Cause? as if our Religion were only fit to be made a property to serve a turn; nay, how glorious will it be to those brave supporters thereof, that maugre the artifices of head-strong Statists, the Enthusiasmes of deluded Sectaries, the violences of a tumultuous souldiery, they vindicate their first principles, and abandoning the suggestions of a private interest, to intend the Publick; That the world might bear witness (for so they covenanted it should) with their own consciences of their loyalty, and that they had no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesties just power and greatness.

SECT. IV.

Resolves to the grand Objections that seeme to obstruct it.

Grand Objections I expect to be thrown in against this closure; I shall offer at some solutions, which possibly improv'd, may manifest that the difficulties are not so considerable, as those that argue with a prejudice, pretend.

Object.

I. *Purchasers of Bishops and Deans and Chapters lands are persons many and of quality, and being in hazard to forgo their purchases, they will become discontented, and charge the State with falsehood, upon whose credit they disburst their moneys.*

Answer.

To discourse soberly, and with respect to the state of our affairs, I shall wave a dispute, what Discipline in the Church, or whether any prefixt form by a Divine right? when the four grand pretenders, *Papal, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Independent* shall reconcile the same texts, which all of them quote to a contrary tenent, possibly the world may be satisfied to close with that:

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

17

that which is approved. In the mean time it becomes discreet Rulers so to manage that interest, that there may be *Order* in the Church without *Confusion* to the State.

Now as to us, if we inquire thoroughly, find we shall, that (whether it were the *Innovations* of the Prelacy, or their scornful expressions of the Gentry, or sharp prosecutions of some more popular of the Ministry, or their intrusions upon the rights of the *Common-Law*, that gave the occasion) The extirpation of that Hierarchy had a strong influence in fomenting the first War, not therefore improperly instil'd *Bellum Episcopale*. If this were so, and that the power is gain'd by strange providence, even to a miracle *without blood*, into those hands that first disputed it, that have engag'd by *Covenant* to extirpate it, I cannot but judge the restoration of the *Hierarchy* either in title or estate to be desperate; much the rather since the King of Scots has so eminently bin drawn to declare his sence that way, by engaging in that Covenant. And indeed since by an Act with the Kings *Fiat*, they are disabled *Votes* in Parliament, the *High Commission*, nay, all coercive power (to abrogate which Law, will be of huge difficulty among the Commons) they have little left them but the *Name*, to support which, so vast a Revenue is not expedient. And their persons, most of them being now dead, and none succeeding to the estate, a Purchaser may enjoy his Bargaine with less reproach, than Delinquents Lands, where the *Heire disinherited*, will lie always in the check.

Not that the Purchaser should only pamper himself by the miseries of the times, and reap the full benefit of his fat bargain, but should contribute a sum considerable for the securing of his Title. Thus, let him pay in to the publick use six years purchase of the full value, and then let his Title be confirm'd by a full Parliament. Intending this for *Fee-simple*, where there are less interests, there may be a proportionable pay. The result of this will be; A vast sum raised to the *Publick*, without damage to the Purchaser; for in substance he makes a new purchase: His *Fee-estate* with respect to the crazy Title, is not valuable above 12. or 13. years purchase, and so it passes from man to man. Now when by this new disbursement he has his Title secur'd, his *Fee-estate* will be valuable 18. or 20. years purchase.

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

purchase, and so to be sold from man to man; so that what he payes in *mony*, is repaid him in the *value* of his estate. This or the like expedient, considering how low they paid at first, what monyes they have rais'd since by Woods and perquisites; what sufferers we have bin in *general* throughout the Nation; may satisfie with reason the most *greedy* of those Purchasers. The unreasonable must be over-rul'd; for the private must be ballanc'd by the publick.

With this, that the Purchasers of *Diens and Chapters* Lands coming under the Act only of *one House*, may be perswaded to advance a higher proportion, to secure their Titles: And the monys by them paid, ought in *justice* to be disburs't for the advance of the Church in buying in *Impropriations*, being at first design'd for that end, to encourage *learning*. A *lean* maintenance will in time produce a *conemptible* Ministry, even the *meanest* of the people, to the infamy of our Church.

Object. II. 'Tis farther argued, *That if Kingship be restor'd, there must be a renewen suitable to the splendour of the Court, and to support his great alliance, when a Free-state occasions no such expence; and the Kings renewen being now disposed, he will become a vast burthen to the State.*

Ans. Nothing more demonstrative than that upon the *foot* of the account we shall find Kingship a great *ease* to the publick charge. We allotted the old Protector no less than a constant Renewen of 1900000*l.* to support the Government; yet that sum at the *yeares end* clear'd not the account: Much more I aver is now collected year by year out of the bowels of the people; and *more we must*, while we maintain an Army, or continue in feare, or engage in forraign War, which our *active spirits* will be too too apt to imbroyle us in from time to time, thereby some to feed *ambition*, others their *purses*. And such a spirit we reade of working in *all Free-states*, Ancient, and Modern.

Compare we it with the expences of our old Courts; when *the Kings Renewen* in Lands, Perquisites, and Customs, exceeded not 700000*l.* a year, it adorn'd it with a glorious Court, a
noble

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

19

noble equipage for the honour of the Nation, and yet paid off a considerable *Fleet*, which has not bin much improv'd by our vast payments.

Sensible it is, that were the *Crown-Lands* restored, and the *Customs* moderately settled, though not so enhanced as they now are to the ruine of *Trade*, thence might arise a sufficient Revenue to secure the *Seas*, and supply the *Court*: With this, that upon Emergencies if a *Free Parliament* saw cause, they might add a supply by the old way of *Subsidie*, or Contribution, if it seem more equal; which being but *once* paid, and in a *moderate* proportion and assent by a *Free Parliament*, and when Trade is *free*, and *excise* banisht, would be rather a *sport*, than a *burthen*, in comparison of the monthly Tax.

Now for the *Crown-Lands*, I can instance several Parliaments wherein they have bin *re-assum'd*, as not alienable, when a profuse Prince has bin misled by his Court-Parasites, and finding his mistake, has given them up to the *fury* of the people; for indeed those Lands are in the Kings hands by way of *trust*, wherein his Subjects have a kind of *interest*; as well for safety, as for honour; which may intimate the *weakness* of their Title who purchased the same from the remainders only of the House of Commons. Yet for the sake of peace, why may they not come to a *discount*? and being re-imburs'd their real purchase-money, with damages, discounting the mean profits, willingly yield up that *broken* inheritance, wherein I and all true Englishmen may pretend some interest. Something of the like nature may be offer'd for the recovery of those we call *Delinquents* Lands. The late Treaty between *France* and *Spaine*, gives a fair president, where the contrary parties whose estates were Sequestred and sold, were *re-instated* in the just condition as the Lands then were at the promulgation of the peace, without any account for the mean profits.

These Crown-Lands being thus re-assumed, will *supply* the Court and those dependances; and for their re-purchase, why may not the monyes raised from the purchasers of Bishops Lands be employ'd that way; or *part* of it, which will suffice? When the King wants more, let him be *endear'd* to his people for a supply; and that indeed was the *good old way* to redress our grievances, when we bought it by our purses; and the bargain was no burthen.

III. Tis

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

III. 'Tis argued, That Religion will be in hazard upon a closure with the King; His Mother is of the Romish party; He is now trained up amongst them; nor can he do lesse than gratifie the Popish with a toleration.

Object.

Ans.

Nothing (doubtless) is of more concernment than the security of Religion; and for that part of it which is Protestant, this closure seems the only way to secure it: But we are not to hearken to such as cry up Religion, and design Faction; that cry out Zeale for the Lord of Hosts, when they intend self-interest: To keep up a party, or an affected way, or to be the *ipse dixit* of a Country; Religion has not at all prosper'd by undue practices to advance it. 'Tis piety, meeknesse, patience, humility, and those graces of the Spirit that convince and convert, when rigidness, censuring, and the sword exasperate, and harden. But have we not a Parliament of Protestants, and the Militia in their hands to secure their Religion? Has not Gods power or truth evidence to secure it self?

Certainly, the education of this Prince among that party, is not of choice; and shall our compulsion be term'd his crime? How averse he has bin to the documents of his Mother, fame has sufficiently made clear. Inquisitions there have bin, and by him that was most concern'd, and kept intelligence abundant, as well into his Counsels, as his life; and never was he yet reproach't with debauchery in Religion or converse. Nay, to a miracle, as if design'd by God for some great work, has he bin preserv'd in person, and kept uncorrupt in Opinion, against the sword on the one hand, and temptation on the other. A change of his Religion, would doubtless have engag'd him a powerful assistance from the Romish interest; which hitherto has seem'd rather to tyre out his constancy by sufferance, than to resent his misery. The Jesuite neither speaks, nor acts indifferently as to his person; and you finde not many of the Romish way, that give him much applause, which argues a strong fear in them of not much complacency in Him: It has bin their project, to crumble our Religion into Sects; upon hopes, that men finding no steddiness in those sandy foundations which are built on the

gid.

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

215

giddiness of *busie* spirits, and *false lights*, may at last fall off to their way of Popery, which seems more *United* upon account of their severe discipline.

And now that God after so many years contrivance, should blowe off on a sudden their whole designs, and restore things by strange providence to their *first principles*, and some likelihood of good Order in the Church, and peace in the State, they seem confounded; and 'tis thought, will endeavour nothing more than the confusion of the Prince, whose conjunction will secure it to posterity. For well they know how he has bin lectured by his *Royal Father*, as well as tutoured by experience; which may enable him as to be the wisest, so the most Religious Prince. You may read it thus,

I do require and entreat you as your Father, and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion establish'd in the Church of England; I tell you, I have tryed it; and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not only in the community, Christian; but also in the special notion as reformed; keeping the middle-way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie: Not but that some lines as in very good figures may happily need some sweetning and polishing, which might here have easily bin done by a safe and gentle hand, &c. To this sence spake he, when he had no more to speak. Now how in matters of consequence this King has pursued elsewhere His Fathers documents, is sensible to him that reads and observes: And here in this is as manifest as the Sun, and he that disputes it has more prejudice than reason; and such singular Opinionists are not worth that satisfaction. As for his Mother, she has had too much experience of the English spirits, and their averfeness to her way, as to engage her Son upon that account to his ruine. If that way she cannot now manage Him, how can she, nay, how dare she here? Nor indeed have her Relations in France, bin so propitious to Him, as to endear Him to Her: Witness His expulsion thence.

Object.

IV. 'Tis argued, That the Royal Family and that party have bin so highly disoblig'd, that no Act of Oblivion can secure the opposites against revenge: What refuge is there against the anger of an intrag'd Prince, when he is once in power?

Answ.

I grant that there have bin provocations to the height: shall we therefore continue to provoke, because we have begun? 'Tis a Rule indeed, That he that does wrong, never forgives, but he that has wrong, may. The interest of revenge is passionate, but the interest of profit arises from a passion that prevails more. He's foolish that anteposes rumour and empty passion, when it stands in competition with his safety; and this Prince under the tutourage of affliction, has bin educated in an Academy of Wisdom: He has eat hitherto as it were at the Almshouses of Charity, having not a Title of assurance to the Bed, he sleeps on: A course of living abominated by a Royal Spirit, were not Necessity a Commander of all Laws: A Prince that has not personally bin disgusted as his father; nor knows he the face of many, that have bin instrumental to his hardships.

Now when a Prince from so low a depression shall be advanced to the warmth of Sovereignty, he will be so sensible of that great and sudden change, as to judge such as have assisted in his restauration, have fully obliterated the unkindness of their former oppositions; which perhaps too and not without reason, may be attributed to the prevalency or the fallhood of some Grandees now in the earth; or perhaps to, a mistake of the true state of things; for who is he that is not subject unto Error? And if all mistakes should be corrected, I know not what man might pass blameless. Much certainly of the mischiefs were contriv'd and driven up by a secret under-working of men, whom God in mercy has remov'd from being obstacles to our peace.

To speak home, Interest rules the whole world; and Princes as others, design more the security of their own greatness, than a petty revenge that may hazard it; especially upon a Quarrel of their Ancestors, who being in Graves, can make no ad-

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

25

address to move the passion. With us it is not, as in the case of *Amaziah*, who slew those servants of his, that had slain his Father: There was only a conspiracy of some few, amongst us there is engag'd a grand Body of the three Nations. Should the Act of Oblivion (for that I presume) be violated in the example of one person, upon that account all concern'd, would apprehend themselves ready for the fetters; and what with fear, what with hate, such a storm would hazard to be rais'd, as might shake foundations. And Majesty has felt so much the fury of the people, that it will hardly give occasion to encounter it againe.

But for this, search we the experiences of the past Ages, and for presidents we shall find two apt ones in the Histories of the two Grand-fathers of the present King, *Henry* the great of *France* was oppos'd in his just Title by the *Holy League*; much the greater part of his Nobles were engag'd to dethrone him: The City *Paris*, *Roan*, and the chief Citadels conspir'd to his ruine; No less than ten set Battles were fought against his person; *Pasquils* and reproaches dayly gaul'd him: Observe the issue; After a long contest, they were both so wise, as to think a closure best: They consent to Crown him, to deliver that high, puissant, and spirited Prince the power of the *Militia*: All subject themselves by way of *Allegiance*, and he soders all by a full Act of *indemnity* and *Oblivion*. Now being thus re-establish't, and in full Sovereignty, he was so far from adventuring it upon a second hazard by any violation, that he imploy'd those very persons that were his main opposites in his Armies, in his Offices, in his Councils: Nor do we reade of one of those *Leaguers*, that ever suffer'd affront or indignity by any reflection from that Prince: Nay, in his deep wisdom he so indulg'd his Adversaries, that his own party began to Quarrel him as unkind to them, whom notwithstanding he honourably protected, yet not so eminently, as to raise jealousies.

Certainly, there is no remark in our Histories that so taints the memory of our great Queen, as the death of the *Queen of Scots*, who flying Mutiny, came hither as a distressed Princess, and was engag'd *Protection*: But no sooner was she in our custody, than she had restraints upon her, being denyed the *Royal presence*, which was so often promised her: Being thus a-

gainst the Law of Nations, neither protected, nor set free to seek relief elsewhere, she conceiv'd her self authoriz'd by the Law of Nature to endeavour her escape; in contrivance whereof she was discover'd, call'd to judgement being a lawful Princess, and no Subject, and by certain Lords prepared for that design, she was in a private way condemned, and inforced to subject her Princely neck to the bloody Headsman. This her Son then King of Scots, seems highly to resent, menaces revenge, sends messages, makes vows, and all to prevent that fatal stroke, but to no effect. Observe the issue; Shortly Queen Elizabeth dyes, and those very Lords that A& d personally in the Mothers Death, Court the Son to the Crown, invest him in it, and he becomes established with all prerogatives incident to the English Scepter. What? Acts he in the way of revenge? No; He like a wise Prince feeling the warmth of so rich a climate, is so passionate to establish his own greatness, that he not only forgets the injury of His Mother, but manages his great affairs by the hands of those very persons that were contrivers of it. Yet through her blood did he derive his Title. Nor do we read of one of those Nobles or their progeny, that suffer'd diminution by any resentment upon that account. If then those wise Princes that were vers'd in the Art of Sovereignty, and invested with strong power, thought fit notwithstanding to lay aside all animosities for the preserving their own Peace. What can we imagine of a young innocent Prince, who never yet felt the power of Sovereignty, who has bin trained up in successive sufferances, who comes in singly, and as it were at the devotion of His Opponents. Is it possible that he should so much oversee his own interest, as to endeavour a violation of Oblivion; an Act that his most busie enemies would study to engage him in, to colour up a new Quarrel; an Act that would yield him in the issue at best, the satisfaction of an empty and unprofitable passion, but by the miscarriage might endanger Him from a Crown to nothing.

His wise Father that had bin beaten into the knowledge of the English spirit, and foreseeing this Objection, Lectures his Son thus, Let no passion (my Son) betray you to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time; but as soon as the forked arrow of factions

A Discourse for a King and Parliament.

25

Etious emulation is drawn out, use all Princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds, that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt; Let Oblivion be granted not only as an act of State-policy, but of Christian charity and choyce. It is all that I have left me, a power to forgive those that have depriv'd me of all; and I thank God (writes the King) that I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace which God has given me, as in all my former enjoyments, for to me it is a greater argument of Gods love, than my prosperity; Be confident (continues he) that the most of all sides that have done amisse, have done so not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things; None will be more loyal to me or you, than those subjects, who sensible of their errors, and our injuries will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects: You may read more in the advise to his Son, which truly I cannot transcribe without a high compassion and resentment; The like said he at his last hour. But why doubt we? Is not the *Militia* in our hands, the disposal of Commands and Offices? Is not the *Council* at our recommendation? Who dares resist? nay, who can? If we shall admit a crime, and so fear revenge, I doubt, *Compounders* and *free Contributors*, that have strengthened the arme of the adversarie, are in strict justice not altogether to be excused; Certainly we have been so shaken upon all interests by the late war, that nothing but apparent ruine can engage us to it again; And better is it that all factions rest satisfied with what they have suffered, as the fate of the times, than quarrelling upon old accounts to imbroyl ourselves into a new sufferance. He has a confidence much beyond mine, that either acting or looking on in these transactions can acquit himself of all guilt; such a mask has been cast over the face of things, such temptations, such force has assaulted men during these dark contextures of affairs, that it is past man to glide through all without a tincture of injustice; As it is beastly and unchristian passionately to persevere in Error, so is it noble and Prince-like to forgive where there is the acknowledgment of an Error: If we cannot trust the nobleness of a Prince, nor the policy of government, nor the security of Laws, what fence can we raise against a fear; shall we consume on, as incapable of a cure?

Truth

A discourse for a King and Parliament.

Truth is, while we live with men we shall be subject to that, which is the effect of their nature, *Sin*; nor is it possible to reap the more general fruit of the best established policie, unlesse by compact we submit our selves to some possible *inconveniences*; As men we can erect nothing *perfect*; fix we must to that which seems most *probable*; and leave amendments to the experiences of time; yet this I dare aver, that this Government by *Magna Charta*, and since, hath been so fortified with *Laws* as bulwarks to prevent the inundation of *Soveraignty*: and that constitution is *so regular* and adequate to that design, that as under the due execution thereof, the English man is born to the *greatest freedom* of the Christian world, so no Prince ever attempted any violation thereof, but at the long run, he suffer'd in that point of his *Prerogative*, which let in the *opportunity*; Hence is it, that the rights of the people have from age to age grown *stronger* against the Prince, and sometimes have hurried his person to be a *sacrifice*, alwayes his *instruments*; whereof few in our Histories can we read, that contriving against the Law, have died in *peace*; If possibly one Prince, as King *Harry* by his high spirit sweeps all before him, yet his Infant successor was inforc'd to make amends for his violations; more easily may we dispute our rights with a *single Prince*, and his trembling Agents, than a knot of *Soveraigns* that are backt with the *sword*.

Infinite hopes may we entertain that this Prince has been school'd to understand his true interest; He has had glorious, though *unhappy* pefidents; He truly is most potent that is *so in his subjects*, not *over* his subjects; that is great *in his people*, not *over* his people; the one makes him contemned abroad, and abhorred at home; the other makes him feared abroad, and beloved at home; Forraign enemies can rejoyce in nothing more than our *self-combustions*, while we consume that glorious spirit in conquering our own bowels, which otherwise imploy'd, might be a *terror* to the world; Such exploits suit to the ancient glory of the English; this self-murthering suites a temper that neither *fears God*, nor *loves man*.

For Conclusion

Is not possible so to acquit my self of *every* Objection, as to leave all men satisfied, especially such as carry a *Bi-asse* of preferment, profit, or faction; Men that have in design *exorbitancies* of power or wealth, will hardly with arguments be reclaim'd; and some have I known that have so long possess'd their heads with *strong notions*, that they are not *capable* to take in *Reason* against them, and thereupon run on frantick in error till there be a *Rotation* in their brains; such there are that with confidence so often have told a lie, that at length themselves believe it to be *truth*; but with respect to the state of our affairs, we are not in a posture to resent the interest or *willfulness* of a *few*, but the safety of the *major part*; let not the *greediness* or ambition of *some*, hazard a destruction to *all*. It may suffice that the *main* obstructors are the *very* persons that have most *advanc'd* themselves; If they retain *doubt*, to what *they were* possess'd of, 'tis much better, then with the *generality*, who would rejoyce in the quiet enjoyment of their *own*; where *one* has been improv'd by the times, *one hundred* have been *impoverish'd*: For be it known, that such as have been *eminently active*, and sweld in power and purchases are in number *few* in comparison with the *multitude*, that have been either misled, *driven on*, or not engag'd; Nay I may aver, that even upon this *quarrel* the spirit of the people has been so *tir'd*, that upon a *just compute* there is scarce *one* to *one hundred* against a *Closure*.

Now then, Suppose we, all *composition* with the *King* decry'd; Suppose we him in *armes*, bickt with a *forraign* force.

Suppose in *Ireland, Scotland*: Nay, with *us*, there are *combustions* upon that account.

Suppose upon termes of power we are aw'd to receive our *Prince*.

Suppose the *many* for the sake of peace deliver up the *few* as a *sacrifice* to the injur'd, and to *ease* the *Publick*.

What then? — I have done.

FINIS.

